

نموذج ترخيص

أنا الطالب : محمد عبدالقادر عبد الرحمن رابعة أمانح الجامعة الأردنية و / أو من تفوضه
ترخيصاً غير حصري دون مقابل بنشر و / أو استغلال و / أو ترجمة و / أو تصوير و / أو إعادة
إنتاج بأي طريقة كانت سواء ورقية و / أو إلكترونية أو غير ذلك رسالة الدكتوراة المقدمة من قبلي
وعنوانها:


مشروعية السلطة في الفكر القومي العربي المعاصر

نماذج مختارة

د. منيف الرزاز، و د. قسطنطين زريق، وزكي الارسوزي

وذلك لغايات البحث العلمي و / أو التبادل مع المؤسسات التعليمية والجامعات و / لأي غاية أخرى
تراها الجامعة الأردنية مناسبة، وأمنح الجامعة الحق بالترخيص للغير بجميع أو بعض ما رخصته
لها.

إسم الطالب: محمد عبدالقادر عبد الرحمن رابعة

التوقيع : 
التاريخ: 2013 / 11 / 19

مشروعية السلطة في الفكر القومي العربي المعاصر
نماذج مختارة

د. منيف الرزاز، و د. قسطنطين زريق، وزكي الارسوزي

إعداد

محمد عبدالقادر ربابعة

المشرف

الأستاذ الدكتور وليد عطاري

قدمت هذه الأطروحة استكمالاً لمتطلبات الحصول على الدكتوراه في
الفلسفة

كلية الدراسات العليا
الجامعة الأردنية

تعتمد كلية الدراسات العليا
هذه النسخة من الرسالة
التوقيع.....التاريخ: ٨/٧/٢٠١٣

تشرين الأول، ٢٠١٣



ب

قرار لجنة المناقشة

نوقشت هذه الرسالة (مشروعية السلطة في الفكر القومي العربي المعاصر، نماذج مختارة، د. منيف الرزاز، ود. قسطنطين زريق، وزكي الأرسوزي) وأجيزت بتاريخ ٢٠١٣/١١/٣.

أعضاء لجنة المناقشة:

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الدكتور وليد أحمد عطاري، مشرفاً
أستاذ - فلسفة

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الدكتور سلمان فضيل البدور، عضواً
أستاذ - فلسفة

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الدكتور عبدالله سالم النقرش، عضواً
أستاذ - علوم سياسية

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الدكتور محمد خالد الشيايب، عضواً
أستاذ مشارك - فلسفة
(جامعة الأميرة سمية للتكنولوجيا)

تعتمد كلية الدراسات العليا
هذه النسخة من الرسالة
التوقيع.....التاريخ: ٢٠١٣/١١/٣

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- .415 : (3) (2000) (1)
- (2) Michels, Roberto, **Encyclopida of Social Sscience**. P 319
- (3) Lasswell, Harold D. & Abraham Kaplan, (1950) **Power and Society**. Yale University Press. P.133
- (183) : (1994) (4)
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- .32 : (33) (1983) (5)

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(1831-1770)(George Hegel)

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(1883-1818) (Karl Marx)

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(1)Friedrich, Carl J,(1972),**Tradition and Authority**. Macvillen. P55

(2)Russell, Bertrand, (1954), **Power: A new social anylysis**. George Allen& Unmin Ltd, London. P. 35.

(1) .(1961) (3)

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(5) هيغل (1996)، أصول فلسفة الحق، ترجمة إمام عبدالفتاح إمام، القاهرة، مكتبة مدبولي ص505،506.

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(1984-1926)(Michel Foucault)

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(3) De Jouvenal, Bertrand,(1957),**Sovereignty: An Inquiry Into the political good**.Great Britain, Cambridge University press, xiii

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(3) Weber, Max, (1974), **The Theory of Social and Economic Organization**, translated by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, edited with introduction by Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press).p358.

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وعن طبيعة الجو العام الذي تتم فيه العملية الانتخابية، يشير الأرسوزي الى ما يجب أن تتوافر عليه المصالح العامة؛ إذ يجب أن تتوفر فيه الشروط التالية: أولاً: الحرية، التي يُقصد بها حرية مناقشة الأمور بالقول والكتابة، إذ تتطلب حرية المناقشة صحافة حرة وعقد المؤتمرات العامة. مما يعني أن لكل مواطن الحق في الإفصاح عن رأيه، والحق في الإدلاء به في هوية المرشحين لتمثيل المصالح العامة، ولكي لا يتعسف ممثلو السلطة عن واجباتهم أو يقصروا فقد اقتضى هذا قيام أحزاب مهمتها تنبيه الرأي العام عن التقصير في الواجب أو الانحراف عنه.⁽³⁾

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ويستطرد الأرسوزي في هذا السياق قائلاً: " يجب أن يكون الالتقاء في حزب مركزه في دولة عربية تثبت أمانى الأمة كشعارات لها والحزب المنوط به هذه المهمة هو حزب البعث العربي، على أن يحرر هذا الحزب من رواسب عهد الزعامة، وأعني بذلك نقل مركز الثقل من القيادة إلى القاعدة، وإخضاع القادة والقاعدة لقواعد بينه واضحة." (1)

» (2)

وعن الأحزاب في المرحلة التاريخية الراهنة، يرى الأرسوزي أنها تحمل الطابع الاقتصادي السياسي، وعليه فإن حرية تشكيل الأحزاب والانتظام فيها، يُعدُّ سبباً من أسباب إزالة الجفاء بين المذاهب والطوائف وسبباً في تحرير المجتمع من الماضي وآثاره والاتجاه نحو المستقبل المنشود.⁽³⁾ وهذا لا يتم إلا بوجود ديمقراطية تتسم بالمرونة والصدق، وذلك من خلال إفصاح الجمهور عن رأيه مباشرة، لا بطريقة ملتوية؛ إذ أصبحت الانتخابات في جميع البلاد الديمقراطية على درجة واحدة إلا في المجتمعات التي ظلت تخضع لنفوذ الاستعمار.⁽⁴⁾ فكل مواطن في الدولة يجب أن يتحلى بفضيلتين، فضلاً عن الحرية: الأولى تتمثل في الإعداد لفهم القضايا العامة، والثانية: الجرأة على التعاون مع الإخوان على العمل من أجل الإشراف على تنفيذ القانون من قبل الموظفين الموكّل إليهم إدارة الشؤون العامة.⁽⁵⁾

مجمل القول في رأي الأرسوزي عن الحزبية، بأنها قائمة عنده في طبيعة الأشياء، ومظهر من مظاهر تقدم المجتمعات. ففيها ينتظم الناس حسب مواقفهم من القضايا العامة، وهي أيضاً وسيلة من وسائل التطور الاجتماعي. إن الأرسوزي نظر إلى الأحزاب باعتبارها عماد مؤسسات المجتمع المدني جميعها، لكونها أحد المؤسسات الكبرى الدالة على الحياة السياسية، لانضواء مختلف شرائح المجتمع وفئاته في نشاطاتها. وهي من هذه الناحية تعبر عن مجمل النظام السياسي الديمقراطي السائد. كما تعد الأحزاب أيضاً وسيلة تزول بها الحواجز والفروقات، وبها يتحرر المجتمع من رواسب الماضي، وينطلق نحو مستقبل أفضل وفق أساس النظرة المستقبلية.

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LEGITIMACY OF AUTHORITY
IN THE CONTEMPORARY NATIONAL ARABIC THOUGHT
SELECTED FIGURES
DR. MUNEEF AL RAZAZ, DR., CONSTANTINE ZORAIK, AND ZAKY
AL ARSOZI

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ABSTRACT

Legitimacy as a concept or a foundation is one of the questions un-
contemplated in contemporary nationalistic Arab thought; whereas this
question held an outstanding position in modern Western thought and
received its share of a legal, philosophical and empirical research and
contemplation.

This study came as a contribution to clarify this concept and as an
attempt to discuss it philosophically and intellectually within the
framework of contemporary Arab thought. It became apparent in the
study that the claim of legitimacy of any authority requires a number of
foundations represented in the presence of a democratic government
system based upon legal citizenship; a constitution which stipulates
freedoms and duties, a law governing those freedoms and duties and a
civil society comprised of political parties and unions for all segments of
society, where democracy is the only standard.

The study shows that legitimacy is a quality attributed to the
authority which behaviors and actions are in agreement with justice
within the framework of its legal and legislative definers and is basically

based upon people's consent. The strength or weakness of the authority is contingent to the extent to which people's consent is achieved. The authority of the totalitarian or the tyrant ruler is deemed illegitimate, even if it was within the frame of the constitution or the law. It is possible to imagine theoretical hypotheses implying the possibility of illegitimate government (authority) to begin with, where it enjoys legitimacy later on due to the people's consent and reception i.e. people receive it with consent because of its behaviors and actions. There also could be an authority which enjoys legitimacy and legality at the same time i.e. it combined together the legality of the contract, the law and the constitution and the legitimacy of people's consent concerning its behaviors and actions.

This study came as an attempt to research the legitimacy of the authority in the contemporary national Arabic thought, through the writings of Zuraik, Al Razzas, and Al Arsozi (according to the order in the Arabic Version) as models. We have to bear in mind that in their writings, these three intellectuals, didn't treat the concept of legitimacy directly, however, they wrote about the state and their vision of the nature of this state and its foundations such as rights, freedom, justice, authority, democracy and citizenship; which have been proven beneficial to this sense and its limitations and stipulations, without treating the concept itself.

What rises above disputation theoretically, is the areas that they had researched and tackled, were only concerned of political philosophy; are tightly connected to legitimacy and its relationship with the authority, which is considered the theoretical foundations upon any legitimacy is built upon.

The presence of the legitimacy of authority in the Arab state sought upon; according to the image of one or all of these intellectuals; cannot be

denied or refuted. For them, the Arab state sought upon has all the qualities of justice, democracy, equality, freedom, citizenship, institutions, thought, mind... etc., as you can name it. If the thoughts of these intellectuals were considered as total and comprehensive in their treatment of the authority/state, the result would inevitably be a model for a state and a legitimate authority, since it is based on intellectual elements as well as institutional ones.

The researcher found out that legitimacy is developing and alternating, capable to grow and develop as well as to become weaker or even demolish, therefore we cannot consider it rigid, ripe or even complete.

The people's well is also considered the judge and the decisive first and foremost; so any violation of the stipulations of the contract by the authority would weaken its legitimacy, which implies that the effectiveness of the authority has been weakened.

Authority draws nearer to or farther from its legitimacy contingent to the extent to which it is capable of achieving social consent and acceptance, which, in return, secures its survival. Any defect in the application and in the practice, either in the system as a whole, or in any of its parts, would imply a defect in its legitimacy; this consent is measured through the individual and his opinion, the political parties and the opposition, the unions and the entire civil society organizations.